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Comment

FEDERAL REVIEW CONFERENCE

THIS month delegates from five governments—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the Federation and Britain—will meet in London to discuss the future of the Central African Federation. The delegations of Southern and Northern Rhodesia will include representatives of political parties who have as yet no voice in government, but whose support in their country is, you might say, 'widespread, sincere and of long standing'. (Though there are Africans in the Northern Rhodesian Assembly, Mr. Kaunda's United National Independence party is not represented.)

In view of the vast disparity among the views which will be expressed at the conference it is impossible to pass an opinion as to what its outcome ought to be—except that if the Federation is to survive the right of secession must obviously be accepted. But it is important for us to examine realistically the issues which the Conference will have to face. It will have before it the recommendations of the Monckton Commission which we examine in an article in this issue.¹ Essentially the report has all the virtues and all the failings of the 'multi-racial' or partnership concept in African in 1960. It aims to produce a solution that will be acceptable to everyone and risks being acceptable to no one. This is not to decry the report: on the contrary it is simply an unhappy but realistic assessment of the extent to which racial opinion has hardened. To recognise this is not to applaud it. Not to recognise it is wishful thinking and therefore, as the state of the present Federation shows, highly dangerous.

The Commonwealth Bureau has never been opposed to the principle of association between these three territories. The right kind of federations in Africa can act as bulwarks against

balkanisation and against single-party governments. Economically, they can increase the potential size of the markets and the countries' attraction for foreign investment capital. But none of these advantages accrues automatically to federations as such; indeed a bad federation can produce precisely the opposite results. By fostering hostility, they can increase the danger of balkanisation and of strong, centralised political parties; they can discourage foreign investment by creating instability; and they can produce a dangerously unbalanced and unjust economy through failure to share the benefits of economic prosperity. Seven years of the present Central African Federation have encouraged all these tendencies, and race relations have steadily worsened. All these negative features arose essentially from the same cause: that Federation was imposed against the will of the majority of people who were forced to live with it.

It is vital therefore that any future association should be considered only if it can avoid the mistakes of the first attempt. Anything else would be to invite impoverishment, racial animosity and disorder throughout central Africa. Moreover, it must be clearly understood that if no such association proves possible, however desirable, it will not represent, as the Monckton Commission suggests, the failure of different races to live together in harmony. An editorial in the *Central African Examiner*¹ puts it very well:

Should the Federation now be resolved, it will not prove that racial partnership cannot work. It will be the result of racial partnership *not being practised* at a time when it could have worked, and of the Federation being imposed against vehement opposition in the North and without Africans in the South being consulted. (*Our italics*)

Finally, we should recognise that if the Federa-

¹ Pages 6 and 7.

¹ October 22nd, 1960.

tion breaks up the losers will be the European population and not the Africans. Sir Roy Welensky is fully aware of this and that is why he is fighting to preserve it. He knows that for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland African governments are inevitable and imminent, and that federation with the East African territories is by no means unfeasible, even if they are unable to stand alone. But Southern Rhodesia cannot peacefully preserve its present position between the Union to the south and African groupings to the north. Its internal policies if not its external status must very soon fall in with one or the other. He must know too that Africans in the two Northern territories will not consent to remain in a federation in which European political influence predominates; and that the hope of preserving any form of federation therefore depends on concessions from the European political parties, particularly in Southern Rhodesia. And finally it is up to the British Government to stop misleading the Europeans by encouraging their belief that Britain will—or even can—support them against African demands for democratic self-government.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

IN the past month the Southern Rhodesian Parliament has passed one more highly oppressive act of legislation—the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill. Chief Justice Tredgold has resigned in protest against it and, with a small but growing body of liberal opinion behind him, has called for government by a United Front of all parties, including Africans. On the other hand the government has also undertaken a programme of reform, some of which is courageous and potentially radical. The Land Apportionment Act is to be amended (not very drastically); the civil service is to be open to all races on the same terms (not yet implemented); Africans are to be given a voice in their own local government (details not announced); the Pass Laws are to be drastically amended (in principle a vital step forward); and Africans are to be included in an enlarged Southern Rhodesian Assembly (not many, about 3 out of 50).

The significance of these reforms is that they reflect Sir Edgar Whitehead's recently strengthened opinion that Southern Rhodesia's economy will suffer considerably if the Central African Federation breaks up, and that concessions are worth making to keep the Federation together. In a debate on November 1st in the Southern Rhodesian Assembly he spoke of 'the disastrous effects that break-up of the Federation would have on the economy of Southern Rhodesia' and said that 'it would be impossible to return to the conditions that existed before federation. . . ' In

other words, he and his party have now realised that Africans in the Northern Territories will not contemplate political association with a Southern Rhodesia in which white supremacy is in fact, whatever the theory, the order of the day, and that concessions must be made immediately.

But reforms come too late. Africans are no longer interested in piecemeal reforms as they might have been in 1953. They will be impressed only by reforms which give them the vote; for without a considerable widening of the franchise experience has shown that white electoral pressures will threaten a return of repression once outside incentives to reform are removed. Moreover, the oppressive legislation which preceded the reforms—the Emergency Powers Bill, the Vagrancy Act and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill—caused such an outcry against the Government, both inside and outside the Federation, that much more radical moves will be needed to silence it. It is significant that Sir Robert Tredgold's proposals have not been dropped in response to the new measures, and that the 'Indaba' convention produced very much more radical recommendations than these recent reforms.

Despite the government's small amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill it remains a legislative act which practically destroys the human rights assumed to be fundamental in the free world. Surely this is one occasion on which the British Government might use its Reserve Powers to prevent the operation of this Act. It is no argument that these powers have not been used before; for there is now a public opinion in Britain—and an African and a world opinion—which is fully alive to the dangers of allowing Southern Rhodesia to degenerate further. With its present white electorate it is difficult to expect the Southern Rhodesian government to withdraw this legislation itself: to do so would be to invite electoral defeat. On the other hand to allow this bill to operate is to embitter, possibly beyond repair, the relations between the races, and correspondingly to reduce the chances of any kind of future partnership between them.

LEAP IN EDUCATION

IN April 1959 the Federal Minister of Education in Nigeria appointed a Commission of three British, three Nigerians and three Americans under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby 'to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of post-school certificate and higher education over the next 20 years'. It is just this kind of complete survey of needs which is most required in Africa if the scarce resources available

to it are to be properly allocated.

The Commission concludes that the present provision of primary education will, except in the Northern Region, provide a sufficient flow of recruits for the post-secondary education envisaged, but a massive effort must be made to improve the standard of English. The intake to the secondary schools must be increased from 12,000 (1958) to more than 30,000, requiring an additional 600 secondary school streams. As something like nine-tenths of the primary teachers and over half of the secondary teachers are inadequately educated or not fully trained for their work, the Commission recommends a programme of special vacation courses for teachers, the enlargement of the supervising teacher services to perhaps 1,000 by 1970, expansion of the supply and training of teachers, and improvement in the conditions of service.

Most spectacular is the aim to increase the university population from just over 1,000 at present to over 10,000 in the 1970s. That will involve establishing four universities, three of them centred in already established institutions, the fourth to be in Lagos with several new features, such as evening classes and correspondence courses. The Commission proposes also the introduction of new degrees, B.A. (Education) and B.Eng. (Engineering), with an emphasis on practical studies. They also consider that the medical education requirements should no longer be bound to those for medical practice in Britain, and they support proposals for entry to the legal profession through a university degree.

Particularly interesting is the emphasis the Report places on the country's 'exciting' agricultural potential, and the need for a vast programme of research and extension work. They propose a totally new orientation of training to meet these needs. Nigeria should abandon the old concept of highly-trained experts based on model farms at fixed centres which tend to evolve methods too removed from current practice to have an effective impact by example, and concentrate instead on a mass extension service with a vast output of extension workers at warrant officer level, and agricultural education from the primary school level onwards. The Report stresses also the need to relate education to total manpower needs, which should be kept under continuous review.

The Commission approached its task not from the point of view of how much money the country can afford to spend on education, but how, before 1980, as many talented children as possible might be discovered and educated to ensure Nigeria enough counsellors from its own people. In the report it is stated plainly: 'The Nigerian people will have to forgo other things they want so that every available penny is invested in education. Even this will not be enough. . . . Nigerian educa-

tion must for a time become an international exercise'. The report rests on three foundations; the Commission's conception of Nigeria in 1980, their estimates of the present capacity of the educational system, and Harbison's estimates of Nigeria's needs for high-level manpower in 1970. The overall cost of a programme of international aid for Nigeria's schools and universities is estimated at £15m. to £20m. by 1970. In addition, the capital costs of establishing the new universities is estimated at £20m. Here is educational planning with a purpose that deserves every support possible.

SO FAR SO GOOD

THE conference on the West Indies bases, between representatives of the islands concerned, the United States and the British Government, established one very important principle. The Federation, when independent, will have the right to determine its own foreign policy and to make its own decisions as to whether it will permit military bases. True, it was assumed that the West Indies would be willing to co-operate in what is described as strengthening mutual security and contributing to the defence of the Western Hemisphere in the defence of democracy; but there is no evidence that the right to independence is tied up with military agreements. Next year there will be a referendum in Jamaica as to whether it will or will not remain in the Federation. Norman Manley's People's National Party is expected to win, and once it is established that Jamaica will remain in the Federation, more decisive moves towards independence may be expected. They are long overdue. One West Indian leader put it: 'We were the first colony and it looks as though we may be the last'!

In the meantime consultations are now to take place in the individual territories where the U.S. hold bases under the 1941 agreement. The most important is in Trinidad where the U.S. has a naval base at Chaguaramas which is needed for a federal capital. Negotiations since 1956 have failed to dislodge the Americans, but maybe there is a wind of change blowing through the States bringing an understanding that the friendship of the West Indian people is of greater importance than holding on to a particular base. Discussions are also to be held in Jamaica, St. Lucia and Antigua so that each territorial government will be able to put its point of view to the U.S. on the release of part of the bases for civilian use. The Federal Government will take part in all negotiations.

There is every reason to believe that the territorial discussions will be as successful as the London conference, now the basic principles in the review have been accepted with friendly understanding on all sides.

The South Pacific Commission

ON the 6th February, 1947, the South Pacific Commission was born. Representatives of the Governments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States entered into an agreement in Canberra 'to encourage and strengthen international co-operation in promoting the economic and social welfare and advancement of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories in the South Pacific region administered by them'. Each government is represented by two commissioners, and the Commission has the duty of reporting annually to the six participating governments.

Originally, the Commission's area was south of the Equator and from Netherlands New Guinea eastward, but in 1951 this was enlarged to include Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands north of the Equator. The area covered is about four times the size of Australia, and the population is over three and a half million. The numerous islands are grouped in 18 separate territorial governments, all at varying stages of development and with differing needs.

Stone Age Conditions

Two-thirds of the total population within the Commission's sphere of influence live in Papua and New Guinea. Many of them still live in the highlands, parts of which have never yet been penetrated by members of Western races and where the inhabitants live in stone age conditions.

To add to the difficulties of introducing western influences, there are about 600 different dialects in Papua and New Guinea, and reliance has to be placed very largely on pidgin even in the coastal belt. The situation is, of course, very different in Fiji, where there is a high degree of literacy.

While the development of rapid means of transport in the South Pacific has tended to blur frontiers and while international agencies are now able to take a much greater part in providing services to the peoples of this region than was the case in the early days of the World Health Organisation, there is still a need for a body like the South Pacific Commission. It has built up an enviable volume of goodwill in the past nearly 14 years, and has a number of achievements to its credit. The Commission meets annually at its headquarters in Noumea, New Caledonia. A Secretary-General is in administrative charge and is assisted by a staff of about 60 at Noumea and six in the Sydney branch office. The annual budget is a modest one of about £200,000 to which Australia is the major contributor (30 per cent.); the United Kingdom provides 15 per cent.

Two auxiliary bodies function under the Commission, the Research Council and the South Pacific Conference. The Research Council, which meets annually, is made up of persons distinguished in research, appointed by the six governments together with four of the Commission's officers. The South Pacific Conference, which meets every three years,

consists of representative people of the non-self-governing governments in the area, and by invitation, one or more representatives from the Kingdom of Tonga, which, of course, is independent. These conferences are of particular importance because they provide a forum for discussion on the problems met with in the different territories and not infrequently assist in suggesting means of solving them.

There is close co-operation between the Commission and national and international bodies like the Rockefeller Foundation, World Health Organisation, United Nations Children's Fund, Food and Agriculture Organisation, and so on.

On the health side, the Commission has been responsible for stimulating valuable research into such diseases as filariasis, leprosy, malaria, tuberculosis, yaws and into the problems of environmental hygiene, housing, malnutrition, maternal and child mortality, medical and para-medical education of the indigenous inhabitants, and so on. On the economic side, it has assisted in improving the supply of fish by introducing tilapia mosambica, dalag, carp and others into the South Pacific. It has been responsible for much plant introduction, e.g. cacao, arabica coffee, black pepper, since 1957, over 100 species and varieties of economic plants being distributed throughout the territories. With the help of the Rockefeller Foundation the economic side of the Commission has made determined efforts to deal with the rhinoceros beetle which plays havoc with coconut palms. It has also, reduced the loss of coconuts from rats by encouraging the banding of trees which prevents rats from getting a foothold on the trunks.

Financial Needs

In relation to social development, the Commission has concentrated on literature promotion, general education and co-operatives. With the help of a grant from the United Church Women of the United States, arrangements have been made to assist members of women's organisations to travel and to learn more of each other's work with the ultimate aim of stimulating community improvements and development in the region. The Literature Production Training Centre was established in Honiara on the Solomon Islands. This provides a centre where literature production can be dealt with under local conditions. Circumstances do not always favour the establishment of libraries, and to meet this an experiment has been started in the Solomon Islands of a mobile library.

If the view is accepted that there is still a role for the Commission to play, then it is obvious that the extremely small subsidy from the six participating governments is now quite inadequate for present-day needs. An initial 50 per cent. increase would enable the Health Section, for example, to play a much more useful part both in providing a valuable health information service and in extending considerably its very useful health education service.

The Social Development Section has hardly scratched the surface so far in assisting the territorial governments in educational matters, but would no doubt be in a position to make a really worthwhile contribution in the battle against illiteracy and in giving the inhabitants a civic sense had it adequate funds to provide the leadership required.

In short, if the existence of the Commission is justified, and I believe this to be the case at any rate for the next decade, then an argument re-assessment should be made and the six metropolitan countries should agree to a very much larger annual subsidy.

This will not, of course, in any way relieve the territorial governments of their much greater responsibilities.

Finally, special mention should be made of the problems of Papua and New Guinea. Their population is scattered for the most part in extremely difficult hilly jungle which is heavily parasited. Where medical surveys have been carried out an infant mortality rate of 300 or more per thousand is indicated. The needs of this territory are far greater than can possibly be met by the funds and personnel made available by subsidy from Australia. Realising that the solution lies in educating the indigenous inhabitants to act as teachers, doctors, engineers, agriculturists, technicians, medical auxiliaries and so on, the government of Papua and New Guinea has made a good start in establishing schools and in sending the brighter products to Australia, New Zealand and even to countries further afield. It has also organised village councils to train the population in civic duties and simple administration.

But, here again, only the surface has been scratched, and it is obvious that the whole tempo will need to be speeded up, that more and more of the indigenous inhabitants should be trained for posts of responsibility so that when the time comes for self-government (and it may well come sooner than we think) there will be enough high-principled leaders to take over.

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Correspondence

UGANDA SETBACK

To the Editor of VENTURE

Sir,—The article 'Uganda Setback' in the October issue of VENTURE gives a very misleading impression of the position in Uganda. The conflict is not so much between the Buganda traditionalists and the Colonial Secretary as between the Buganda traditionalists and the political parties in Uganda. In this conflict Mr. Macleod's policy has quite rightly tended to conform more to the wishes of the political parties than to those of the Kabaka's government.

Most of the political parties would probably favour a federal-type constitution for Uganda, but the Kabaka's government has nevertheless con-

demned all political parties as such, because they represent a possible source of power outside the Lukiko. The Lukiko consists of the Ministers, the 27 county chiefs, six nominees of the Kabaka, and 60 elected members chosen by popular vote—40 through electoral colleges at parish level and 20 by county councils from local notables.

The Kabaka's government has refused to hold direct elections to the Lukiko, and also to allow direct elections to the present Legislative Council in which there are no Buganda representatives. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that the Kabaka's government is opposed to a more democratic system of government.

It is quite untrue that in the past year the Buganda traditionalists have been persuaded against secession in favour of a federal constitution. The pamphlet *Buganda's Position* published by the Department of Information of the Kabaka's government and containing a foreword by the Katikiro dated 9th January, 1960, calls for the complete separation of Buganda from the rest of the country, including a separate Buganda army. It is reasonable to suppose that this demand was repeated at the London talks.

In insisting that the Legislative Council elections take place before the Relationships Committee reports, Mr. Macleod is supported by the political parties, and it seems reasonable that the report should be debated and decisions on it reached by a more representative body than the present legislative Council.

The final figure for registrations in Buganda is 33,000. There has been no boycott of registration in any other province.

It seems a pity that the Fabian Society, which is a society of democratic socialists, should in Uganda give its support to any aristocratic oligarchy rather than to the political parties which are more representative of both democracy and socialism.

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WEEKEND SCHOOL

The Bureau Weekend School was successfully held from 4th to 6th November at 'The Hallams'. We dealt with the subject of comparative colonial rule in Africa. Miss Hella Pick addressed us on the French system, Lord Listowel on the British and Colin Legum on the Belgian. Our 'Pan-African' speaker was Mr. J. Akuoku of Ghana. Everyone who attended was deeply appreciative of these addresses, and the discussions which followed were lively and very interesting. The School was directed by Reginald Sorenson, M.P.

THE MONCKTON

THE first reaction of most Fabians to the publication of the Monckton Report must have been a feeling of relief and encouragement. When the Prime Minister announced the appointment of the Commission in July last year, his government had just rejected the Devlin Report, there was still a state of emergency in Nyasaland and Dr. Banda and several hundred of his followers were held in prison without trial. At the Colonial Office a disillusioned Lennox Boyd, his prestige already damaged by the disastrous turn of events in Central Africa, was facing the scandal and horror of the Hola massacre. In these melancholy circumstances only the most foolhardy optimist could have hoped for anything as wise, liberal and realistic as the report produced by Lord Monckton and his colleagues.

When the work of the Commission eventually falls into a historical perspective the particular proposals for constitutional change made in the report are likely to seem of far less significance than the introduction chapters in which the present crisis in the Federation is described and analysed. It is here that the truth about Central Africa proclaimed from the start of Federation by radical and dissenting opinion achieves for the first time respectable status. The socialists and 'long-haired Fabians' of settler demonology turn out to have been right all along. In the first place the myth that opposition to Federation is confined to a minority of self-seeking or politically conscious Africans is finally exploded in Chapter 3 of the Report. After considering all the available evidence the Commissioners record that 'dislike of Federation among Africans in the two Northern territories is widespread, sincere and of long standing. It is almost pathological'.

Inevitable Conclusion

This frank assessment of opinion in the Federation leads inevitably to the conclusion forming the basis of the subsequent recommendations that the Federation cannot be maintained in its present form. It has often been suggested by the more authoritarian supporters of Sir Roy Welensky that uncertainty about the constitutional future of the Federation, and not any defect in its structure, has been the real cause of trouble since 1953. The Commission firmly rejects this view. 'We have heard suggestions that if it were clear even now that Federation broadly in its present form was an established fact, opposition would melt away and there would be a growing appreciation of its benefits. We are convinced this view is wrong. Ultimately Federation must rest on a willingness to accept it, or it must be preserved by force. To hold the Federation together by force we regard as out of the question. It follows that if its advantages are to be maintained, prompt and far-reaching reforms are essential to remove the existing forces of opposition and mistrust'.

The Commission were under no illusion about the source of African opposition to the Federal

idea. 'It is associated,' says the Report, 'almost everywhere with a picture of Southern Rhodesia as a white man's country'. Again the inevitable conclusion is drawn without evasion in a later chapter. 'No new form of association is likely to succeed unless Southern Rhodesia is willing to make drastic changes in its racial policies. . . . To say that events are moving fast in Africa is a truism. They are moving like an avalanche, and it appears only too likely that those who merely cling to their familiar positions will be swept away. We strongly urge, therefore, that, if it is the genuine desire of the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia to preserve an association with their neighbours in the north they should remove as quickly as possible from their laws and practices all instances of unfair racial discrimination'. That is the kind of thing Fabians were saying at the time of the Victoria Falls Conference. The official response then was the Comparative Survey of Native Policy (Cmnd. 8235), a dishonest attempt to explain away the white supremacy policies of the Southern Rhodesian Government.

Economic Policy

There are only two serious criticisms that can be made of the earlier chapters of the Report. The conclusion in Chapter 5 that the 'high hopes with which Federation was founded have on the economic side been fulfilled' is not really justified by the available evidence. The Commission may be right in thinking that the high rate of economic growth has occurred because of Federation and not in spite of it, although the difficulty in distinguishing *post* from *propter* makes a conclusion of this sort very much a matter of opinion.

Where this part of the Report fails is in dealing with the criticism that economic growth has been uneven, with benefits accruing mainly to the manufacturing industries of Southern Rhodesia. This criticism is most cogently stated in the Minority Report of Messrs. Chirwe and Habanyama. In paragraph 23 they say, 'It is because we believe that federal economic policy has been one of distortion that we question its economic value. First, the majority bears out that there has been at best an inadequate development of the backward areas of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and the Southern Rhodesian reserves. Little money has been spent on African agriculture—less than on European agriculture which is a less important part of the Europeans' livelihood. The lion's share of industrial development has gone to Southern Rhodesia (£105m. out of £127m. as the Majority Report states) and has been protected against competition from outside the Federal area. . . . Furthermore, the difference in costs of production (such as power, water supply and transport) between Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt on the one hand and heavily populated Nyasaland on the other hand, are being still further weighted against Nyasaland (and for that matter most of Northern Rhodesia)

MISSION REPORT

by the speed of development of basic utilities in the European areas. In short, we do not think Federation has done much to increase the standard of life of the poor majority of the people; we believe it has helped most those who are already well off'.

On the political side the obvious weakness of the introductory chapters lies in the optimism of their conclusion. The Commission believes that Federation can be saved only by drastic surgery. In their view this includes a major operation in Southern Rhodesia. What reason is there to think that the patient is going to submit? Sir Edgar Whitehead has greeted the publication of the Report by building concentration camps called 'Re-establishment Centres' for Africans thrown out of work by the social and economic policies of his government. As the Review Conference approaches he is putting the finishing touches to a Law and Order Bill which will put his political opponents at the mercy of the most elaborate police state apparatus this side of the Iron Curtain. These things do not look much like the change of heart called for by Lord Monckton.

Inevitably the recommendation that there should be a right of secession has overshadowed the other problems of the Federation are too serious to be Commission. The dispute about the terms of reference in this connection has been aptly described by Lord Shawcross as a 'sterile exercise in semantics', and the guardians of the Prime Minister's personal honour may be safely left to discover just exactly what it was he said to Sir Roy Welensky. The problems of the Federation are too serious to be treated on this level. The Review Conference is bound to consider the question of secession and the issue should be judged on its merits.

Right of Secession

Once it is conceded that the Federation cannot be held together by force, it necessarily follows that its constitution must provide for a right of secession. There is no legal difficulty about this. The Commission has dealt very summarily (para. 294) with the contention that the power of the United Kingdom Parliament to provide for such a right has become in some way circumscribed or limited by convention. The real argument must be about the form which a right of secession should take. The Majority Report suggests two alternative formulae which H.M.G. might use as a basis for a declaration about secession. Under the first formula, 'After a territory has attained self-government . . . if the government of that territory so requests, H.M. Government will take the necessary steps to ascertain in such manner as H.M. Government shall then determine, the wishes of the inhabitants of that territory on the question of whether they shall remain within the Federation and shall proceed to give effect to those wishes'. Under the second formula, 'When a stated number of years have

passed from the time of the coming into effect of the new federal constitution, if the government of any territory so requests within twelve months, H.M. Government will take the necessary steps to ascertain . . . the wishes of the inhabitants of that territory on the question of whether they wish to remain within the Federation . . .'

Self-government is defined for the purpose of the first formula as 'the position reached when the final stage of progress to responsible government has been attained through the disappearance of civil service ministers, and through ministers ceasing to be responsible to the Governor and becoming responsible to a legislature answerable to the electorate'. No particular number of years is recommended in connection with the second formula although seven and five are mentioned as figures which were advocated by different groups on the Commission.

Parity Recommendation

Unless Africans in the Northern territories are reconciled to Federation by the changes brought about at the Review Conference it is entirely unrealistic to suppose that the territories could be held together without violence and repression for as long as five let alone seven years. Although the Minority recommendation for an immediate referendum must be rejected as impracticable, the issue of secession should be brought to a head as soon as possible after the new constitution comes into effect. For this reason a solution along the lines of the first of the suggested formulae seems clearly preferable. The definition of 'self-government', however, will require some adjustment. Self-government in the sense of an African unofficial majority and an African Chief Minister to be attained in the next twelve months is a reasonable constitutional objective for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The disappearance of civil service ministers on the other hand is unlikely to occur in either territory for several years. This part of the proposed definition of self-government would cause a prolonged postponement of the secession issue and should therefore be dropped.

Apart from the proposal for a right of secession the most important recommendation in the Report, is that there should be parity in the Federal Legislature. This has the great negative merit of blowing away the humbug which enveloped the constitutional amendments of 1957. These were presented as a first step towards non-racial politics but were designed to entrench European control behind the facade of a qualified franchise. It is doubtful, however, whether the African Nationalist parties would now be prepared to accept anything less than a majority. Assuming that they are prepared to contemplate any form of political association with Southern Rhodesia, which seems improbable, legislative control of the Federation by Africans is likely to be their minimum condition.

BACKGROUND TO FEDERATION

IN March, 1958, immediately after the crisis in Nyasaland, Philip Mason, the director of the Institute of Race Relations, conducted a programme on the radio, which probed the different currents of opinion in the federation and analysed the causes of the emergency. His calm exposition was interspersed with explosive interviews with Rhodesian politicians—white and black. In the midst of all this Mr. Mason appeared as a real arbitrator—wise, shrewd and sympathetic.

In *Year of Decision—Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960,¹ he tries to give a similar analysis—to steer his way without bias through the storms and passions of Central African politics and to point the just solution. For several reasons he is here not nearly so successful. In the first place nothing replaces the vigour of the live interview, and in Mr. Mason's calm prose the situation loses urgency and the characters personality. By the end one can almost be convinced by the chess analogy which he draws. Second and perhaps more important, though he has a real and extremely valuable understanding of the attitudes and motives of the Europeans, he always under-estimates the force of African aspirations.

Nevertheless the book is a valuable record and sets out in easy and readable form the facts of federation—the prolonged discussions out of which it was born, the arguments for and against, the problems which faced the new government, the build up of the African political parties and the course of the emergency. Particularly useful is the detailed analysis of living standards in Northern Rhodesia and the excellent statistical appendices.

Some of the excitement which one misses in *Year of Decision* can be found in *Central African Emergency*²—a book which covers much of the same ground but from an entirely different angle. Clyde Sanger, now East and Central African correspondent of *The Guardian*, spent several years in Salisbury on the staff of the *Central African Examiner*. He saw the political situation develop towards crisis and knew the people concerned both socially and professionally. His stated aim is 'to disturb complacency' and to show how the African political parties even more than the Nyasaland government were driven to a point where they had 'to either act or abdicate'. Much more than Mr. Mason he sees the effect of personality in any situation and the extreme variety of ideas and attitudes which made some kind of a clash inevitable. Particularly interesting is his account of the 'liberals' and the Capricorn Africa Society. Capricorn became for the nationalist politician, despite an immense amount of goodwill, a synonym for 'informer'.

The centre of the book is however a detailed and penetrating account of the personality of Dr. Banda—an attempt to reconcile the picture of the

'quiet Doctor of Willesden' with the man who was called the 'Mussolini of Nyasaland'. Banda, he stresses, never saw himself as a working politician or even as a leader, but as a catalyst, which, produced at the right moment, would unite the Nyasas in their fight against federation. He himself was opposed to federation from the beginning, but did not see it as his job to build up opposition in Nyasaland—if and when Nyasas thought as he did and needed him, he would return. His lack of confidence is shown by the remark he made to a friend when he left for Nyasaland in June, 1958: 'I shall soon be back if I find that the people do not want me'.

A Symbol

Yet once he arrived in Nyasaland his letters were larded with egotistical phrases: 'Wherever I go, people worship me. . . . Thousands cheered me when I spoke. . . . They carried me miles in a palanquin while I slept'. Had he become a raging demagogue? Mr. Sanger argues cogently that he had not, that his seeming egotism arose partly from his need to reassure himself, and partly from the feeling that he had become not a person but a symbol, that in describing his popularity he was not boosting himself but showing the strength of the Nyasa people. 'It is no good their killing Banda', he said, 'two other Bandas will spring up in his place'.

Both authors intend to draw conclusions from the material they produce and to give some policy for the British government. Interestingly enough neither succeeds and both books falter to a close. Clearly it is easier to describe the situation in Central Africa than to prescribe a solution.

In *Race and Politics: Partnership in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*,¹ Edward Clegg attempts no policy recommendations, but concludes on an even less hopeful note than the others: 'It is indeed merely a question of time before the Federation . . . splits asunder. . . . It will be neither the last nor the most painful and bitter adjustment. . . .' Clegg's analysis is based largely on his experience of Northern Rhodesia, but it is valid as it applies to the other two territories. He sees the Central African dilemma as basically insoluble within its own framework, and concludes in effect that its resolution must necessarily involve coercion of some kind. He shows how the attempt to 'maintain European standards' which is regarded as the *sine qua non* of good government inevitably conflicts with African advancement; and that Africans must therefore inevitably turn to the demand for universal franchise as a means of distributing power so that an African way of life can develop.

By providing simply and readably the background facts, these three books should help those who must make up their minds about British policy in Central Africa.

Catherine Hoskyns

¹ By Philip Mason. Oxford, 21s.

² By Clyde Sanger. Heinemann, 30s.

¹ By Edward Clegg. O.U.P. 30s.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH

(October 16th—November 15th)

South-West Africa

On November 4th the governments of Ethiopia and Liberia filed a suit with the International Court of Justice at The Hague charging the Union of South Africa with violation of its duties as Mandatory of South-West Africa (see VENTURE, Oct., 1960).

Northern Rhodesia

The Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union, representing European workers, have accepted proposals designed to allow Africans to advance on the same basis as Europeans.

The Northern Rhodesian division of the Central Africa Party has cut itself off from the Federal Party to become the Northern Rhodesian Liberal Party. Sir John Moffat is its President. The Rev. Colin Morris, formerly Free Church Minister at Chingola, has resigned his ministry to take up active politics with the Liberal Party. Mr. John Gaunt M.P.'s Northern Rhodesian Association, has lost five of its eight Executive Committee members to the 'Federal Fighting Fund', a movement designed to back Sir Roy Welensky's effort to save the Federation. Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, President of the African Mineworkers' Union, has joined the African National Congress.

South Africa

The South African Government has announced its intention to pass retro-active legislation to give itself immunity against citizens claiming damages against the police for injuries caused during the Sharpeville shootings. 224 civil claims, making a total of £398,000 had already been filed, including 60 by widows and mothers for loss of support through the death or permanent injury of their breadwinners. The inquiry into the shootings conducted by Mr. Justice Wessels has not yet been published, though it has been handed to the government.

Following the inquiry into the Pondoland shootings, Pondos have decided not to pay taxes and to boycott European towns and traders in the area. Unrest and disorder are spreading. Nearly 400 Pondos are being tried for arson and many have been banished for subversion.

PAFMECA

The Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa met at Mbale, Uganda, at the end of October. Delegates came from African political parties in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The chief issues before it were the future for an East African Federation, possibly including Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the effects of Uganda's internal problems in delaying its independence.

Algeria

On October 29th M. Ferhat Abbas, the Algerian provisional government leader, returned from Russia and China with promises of 'extensive aid' for the

Algerian struggle. General de Gaulle made another policy speech on November 4th but still insisted that he could not negotiate before a cease-fire.

Kenya

For the first time elected members were appointed to the positions of Speaker and Deputy Speaker in the Kenya Legislative Council which reassembled on October 28th. They are Mr. Humphrey Slade (Blundell-type views) as the Speaker, and Mr. Jeremiah Nyagah (moderate African Nationalist) as Deputy Speaker.

Both the major African political parties have declared that once in government they will call for the winding-up of the British strategic base at Nakuru in Kenya.

East Africa

On October 1st, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda became full members of the International Coffee Agreement.

Camerun Republic

Dr. Felix-Rouland Moumie, exiled leader of the terrorist wing of the 'Union des Populations Camerounaises' died in hospital in Geneva on November 3rd. He had been poisoned and his assassins are presumed to be members of the 'Red Hand', the French right wing underground organisation.

Zanzibar

The main Blood Report recommendations for constitutional advance in Zanzibar, which were debated in the Legislative Council, have been accepted by the Colonial Secretary (see VENTURE October, 1960).

Bahamas

The Progressive Liberal Party of the Bahamas sent a deputation on November 7th, including two women, to the Colonial Secretary to plead for women's suffrage in the Colony.

Mauritania

By agreement with France Mauritania achieved executive independence on October 19th. She will become fully independent on November 28th.

Publications

Service with Overseas Governments. (Cmnd. 1193, H.M.S.O. 1s. 3d.)

The Promotion of the Sciences in the Commonwealth. (C.O.I. 4s.)

Outline of Native Law: Julius Lewin. (S.A.Inst. of Race Relations, Box 97, Johannesburg. 2s. 6d.)

Housing and Town and Country Planning in the U.K. Dependencies. (C.O.I. Reference Pamphlet 39. H.M.S.O. 3s. 6d.)

Colonial Development and Welfare Act: Return of Schemes and Loans, 1st April, 1959, to 31st March, 1960. (244, H.M.S.O. 2s. 6d.)

Parliament and the Commonwealth

DEBATE ON THE MONCKTON REPORT

IN the debate **Mr. James Callaghan** said he had written down a series of 'ifs' under which the Secretary of State for the Commonwealth Relations might succeed in his task of making the Federation work: *If* Southern Rhodesia reformed her race policies; *if* she accepted immediately equality in the Federal Assembly with an African majority within a short period of time; *if* the federal powers were redistributed somewhat along the lines that Lord Monckton proposed—though obviously that was a matter for negotiation—if the right to secede was given; then he believed there was a prospect for success, and he thought the Africans should then feel that the federal experiment could be made to work on the basis of a free, voluntary and equal association. He was confident that it would not work on any other basis.

Sir Lionel Heald (Member of the Monckton Commission) said that the Commission had stated the true legal position concisely and correctly, as he believed, in the following passages:

Para. 288: 'The Federation was established and its constitution was defined by an Order in Council made by Her Majesty under the authority of an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament (the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act, 1953), Section 1 (2) of which expressly reserves the right of Parliament to revoke or amend the Order in Council. Thus H.M. Government retain unfettered power to make provision for the future of the Federation in any manner they may think fit.'

On p. 109, para. 334: 'The United Kingdom Parliament has inherent power to legislate for any part of H.M.'s dominions except in so far as this has been qualified by the Statute of Westminster. As far as the Federation is concerned, the State of Westminster does not apply and the over-riding authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is not affected either by the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act, 1953, or by the Order in Council made under it.'

Para. 335: In the Joint Announcement of 1957 it was stated: 'The United Kingdom recognised the existence of a convention applicable to the present stage of constitutional evolution of the Federation whereby the United Kingdom Government in practice does not initiate any legislation to amend or to repeal any Federal Act or to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature except at the request of the Federal'

And Para. 294: 'The outstanding consideration is the existence of an unfettered right in the United Kingdom Parliament to control the future destinies of the Territories, and its consequent responsibility for considering and giving effect to the views of the inhabitants.'

This latter paragraph expressed the duty of Parliament, and he did not think anyone could seriously dispute that that was the constitutional position.

Mr. C. J. M. Alport (Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations) said that it was generally recognised in the House, and had certainly been recognised in the course of the debate, that if it were not possible for all those whose interests and life and future were in Central Africa to come together on a basis of partnership, in the end the experiment would not work. That continued to be the only logical approach to the whole future, not only of the Federation but to relationships between Europeans and Africans throughout the Continent of Africa.

One of the main purposes of the constitutional review, he had always understood, was that, after a period of experience of working the Federation and of the division of the powers between the Federal Government and the Territorial Governments, we should, with the Governments concerned, consider whether the existing division of powers was right or wrong. Whether that would mean a transfer of powers from one to the other was something which only the Review Conference could decide. Regarding the question of secession and an increase of African representation in the Federal Parliament, these subjects were for the Review Commission to decide. (3rd November.)

Uganda Legislative Council Elections. In reply to a question by **Mr. Wall**, **Mr. Macleod** said it was his intention to hold elections on a national basis early in 1961. He said that he believed that if the Relationships Committee, whose membership he hoped to announce in a few days, were to report before the elections, it would stimulate pressures for the report to be implemented before the election, which would then risk being indefinitely postponed. (8th November.)

High Commission Territories. **Mr. Marquand** asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations to what extent representatives of the United Kingdom Commissioner regularly visit farms within the Union of South Africa on which British protected persons are known to be working, in order to ensure that conditions of employment, housing and payment, are satisfactory; and on how many occasions since April, 1960, representations on such matters have been made to the appropriate authorities within the Union. **Mr. Sandys** replied that the High Commissioner had a standing arrangement with the Union Government whereby his officers may visit any farm in the Union on which Africans from the High Commission Territories are employed; but that it would not be practicable to make regular visits to these farms. The High Commissioner had had no occasion since April 1st, 1960, to make representations to the Union authorities about the conditions of employment of Territories Africans on farms in the Union. (27th October.)

Guide to Books . . .

Fiscal Policy in Under-developed Countries : with Special Reference to India.

By Raja J. Chelliah. (Allen and Unwin. 20s.)

Dr. Chelliah's book, as the sub-title shows, is really about Indian fiscal problems. With few exceptions, most of his points, including the suggestions for a reform of fiscal policy, are of direct relevance to India. Nevertheless, the main issue it raises, namely, what sort of fiscal arrangements should an under-developed country adopt as it embarks on industrialisation, is of wider significance.

Dr. Chelliah says that the structure of public finance in many of the newly independent countries has grown up haphazardly, influenced by historical accidents, the political ideas of foreign rulers and so on, and is largely out of date. According to him, the primary purpose of taxation in these countries should be to raise the rate of savings, so that a high rate of investment may be sustained without undermining stability. The level of domestic savings in India is very low, and private investors still tend to invest their savings in commerce or urban building rather than in agriculture or industry. This, he claims, has led the Indian Government to place 'undue emphasis on insuring collective savings' and to rely on tax-financed public investment, whereas the aim should be to raise the aggregate of public and private investment.

His main point is that the potential rate of savings in a country like India is higher than the actual rate. This is due to the preponderance of 'feudal' income derived from the land: the classes which receive this income do not save any significant part of it or invest it productively. The role of fiscal policy should be to mobilise this economic surplus which exists at present, and to prevent consumption from increasing proportionately with income in the earlier stages of development. Although Dr. Chelliah does not mention land reform, his proposals point to a far more drastic programme of agrarian reform than has been carried out.

The book ends with a description of some basic features of the Indian fiscal system which are examined in the light of his own proposals. An examination of the Kaldor proposals for a wealth and an expenditure tax is also included. Dr. Chelliah writes cogently, and economic planners will find much that is interesting in his book.

S. Katrak

Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria

By G. E. Flint. (O.U.P. 30s.)

In the year of Nigerian independence it is appropriate that this substantial book should appear about one of the founders of what has been one of the largest and most populous British dependencies. J. E. Flint has managed to write just sufficiently weighty a book to merit the interest of the historian without putting off the general reader. Goldie's career in West Africa (1875-1900) covered the period when imperialist expansion was at its zenith and

he was a pretty representative example of the often idealised but in reality not particularly reputable architects of it. Shrewd, extremely resourceful, at times courageous, and a bit of an adventurer, he was responsible for the earliest origins of what is today the largest trading company in West Africa, the United Africa Company, and for the British acquisition of the largest portion of Nigeria—the latter achievement really in spite of himself. Goldie's story is one of perpetual struggle to secure the most profitable slice of the hinterland trade (exporting palm products and importing, among other things, liquor). This he did successfully in the face of a remarkable variety of enemies and rivals. The French, the Germans, the Brassmen—as the peoples of the delta coast were called—the Liverpool merchants, and a commission of enquiry were all fought or fended off. The intrigues attending all this have their funny as well as their unedifying side, but the author permits himself only a few flashes of humour.

Financially, the fortunes of the Royal Niger Company, as it became in 1886, were much happier than most of the chartered companies of the time, but this did not save it from ultimate extinction. Indeed, its very success hastened this. Inexorably an unwilling Conservative government came to recognise the absurdity of a private organisation, which had frequently to be assisted in its military adventures and which was the source of endless complaints about discrimination against its trading rights, being left to govern a territory several times the size of the United Kingdom. The alternative to revocation of the charter was canvassed by Mary Kingsley and John Holt, who proposed government by a combination of all the West African merchants in a 'House of Commons for West Africa'. But this would have been an impossible nonsense and Chamberlain did not take it seriously. Consciously or otherwise Chamberlain recognised that there comes a stage in the development of any organisation when the size and complexity of problems compel government intervention to the point of taking over some or all of its functions. Disraeli had set a precedent with the East India Company. The same thing was to happen in South Africa and Rhodesia. It is just one aspect of the long-standing evolution of collectivism.

J. M. H. Lee

The Tame Ox

By Jack Cope. (Heinemann. 16s.)

Jack Cope is an experienced South African writer with considerable insight into personal relationships in white-dominated multi-racial societies in Africa. This is his first book of short stories, most of them about South Africa, others about Kenya. He describes without analysing, recounts what he sees without justifying it; unsentimental, the stories are yet compassionate and emotional. The title story, for instance, concerns the first Zulu to be honoured by the white races in South Africa with the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and the ceremony

takes place among Africans at an African university college. It is a description of the ebullient bursting-forth from this 'tame ox', this 'moderate' product of white paternalism, of all the robust African sense of celebration, before the startled eyes of his philanthropic white patrons. It is touching, true and amusing.

Unfortunately Mr. Cope's style is uneven, often verbose and pretentious; some of his over-explanations are irritating, his characters sometimes too simple, too dramatic, too slick. Nevertheless, the sense of narrative is always strong and usually compelling enough to override the occasional lack of subtlety.

M. J. R.

No Longer at Ease

By Chinua Achebe. (Heinemann. 13s. 6d.)

Those who, like myself, enjoyed Chinua Achebe's first novel *Things Fall Apart*, will be grateful for the second. This is a most skilled successor to the first, being the story of Obi Okonkwo, grandson of the first hero. This sense of continuity in the writing is the more interesting for believing the essential theme of Okonkwo's material—the discontinuity or disruption of Nigerian society as it evolves from the tribal to the modern. The grandfather Okonkwo, it will be remembered, fought and lost against the influence of the missionaries and their education. His story is the story of the collapse of unfettered tribal traditions, the falling apart of his world. His grandson fights and loses a new battle—against the corruption and temptations of a civil service hierarchy in which nepotism is an inevitable element where education is the key to money and money to status. Obi succumbs despite his initial reforming idealism.

The story is complicated by Obi's love affair with an 'Osu'—traditionally unmarriageable except from within their own number. This brings Obi into conflict with his tribal benefactors, his conscience, and finally, through accepting bribes to pay for an abortion, with the law. The girl, Clara, is patchily drawn: Achebe has yet to develop the subtleties of character creation. And if there is one overall criticism I would make it is that Mr. Achebe's concluding pessimism tends to the sour-bellied. There is a solemnity about the book which is somehow misleading, and I am sure unintended.

Margaret Roberts

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SHORTER NOTICES

Human Problems in British Central Africa. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Manchester U.P. 5s.) This is the 26th in the Institute's series under this title. It includes an article on 'The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland' by J. van Velsen; the military history of British Central Africa, being a review by George Shepperdson of *The King's African Rifles: a Study in the Military History of East and Central Africa*, by Lt.-Col. Moyse-Bartlett; and 'A Study of Race Attitudes in Nigeria' by Cyril A. Rogers.

An Outline of Luvalé Social and Political Organisation. By C. M. N. White. (Manchester University Press. 5s.) This is an account of the social and political structure of the Luvalé people of Central Africa. It is a companion paper to the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute's *A Preliminary Survey of Luvalé Rural Economy* by the same author, who is the African Land-Tenure Officer in Northern Rhodesia.

British Education in Africa. By R. J. Mason. (O.U.P. 6s.)

An intelligent and concise survey of the British system of education in Africa together with a discussion of the problems which arise when a rapid expansion of educational facilities is necessary. This is a simply written book designed for students and teachers in Africa who need to be aware of the problems they face.

Labour Education in the British Caribbean. (By the Department of Extra-mural Studies, University College of the West Indies. This is the report of a labour education survey conducted June to July, 1959, and of the conference held at the University College of the West Indies, Jamaica, in August, 1959. It contains discussions of the role played by various institutions, including the trade unions, in the process of labour education.

Kalahari. By Jens Bjerre (Joseph, 30s.)

A fascinating account by a Danish explorer of his experiences in the Kalahari desert where he lived for many months with the Bushmen, one of the oldest peoples on earth, who are fast becoming extinct.

FABIAN

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